142 Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a
[505] rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly
[506] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the
nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that
it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-
291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men
wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to
the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in
which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer hav-
ing a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of
thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions
282 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day
531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-
301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their
● 177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made
of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of
view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the
cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross
of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered
by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are
282 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old
177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of
white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their
red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who
in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt
hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it
may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his
elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The
622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their
177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one--yes of course--he
282 is a great gentleman--he can afford it--he not only wears a shell
301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another
long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given
by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable
or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears
especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity.
Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to
town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw
panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear
[513] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome;
instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with
a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

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291 Children wear no clothes at all until they are 6 or 8.

301 The hair is worn loose, long, and flowing by the women but is clipped
302 above the ears by the men. Both sexes wear necklaces and wristbands of glass and porcelain beads, coins, seeds, and beetle wings. Only women wear earrings.

303 The traditional *Chibcha* custom of frequently painting body and face is found among the *Cayapa*. Red, yellow, and black are used, and the designs are very numerous. Barrett reproduces many of the motifs and insists that there is no special significance attached to any of them, nor is there any age, sex, or property correlation.

TRANSPORTATION

501 **Watercraft.**—A large part of every *Cayapa's* life is spent on the water
[499] fishing and traveling. Canoes are built with great skill and care. They can withstand not only fluvial but also maritime travel and are routinely sold in the "civilized" coast towns. They are dugouts, usually 10 to 12 yards long but sometimes much larger. Balsa-wood logs are sometimes used as outriggers.

MANUFACTURES

[illegible] Details of *Cayapa* manufactures are contained in Barrett's work, which describes and illustrates finished products and minutely discusses the techniques of preparation.

322 **Woodworking.**—Woodworking includes house building, making deadfall traps, and carving seats and children's dolls.

285 **Weaving and basketry.**—The women weave cotton cloth on a narrow
284 native loom, and the men do the sewing. The men also weave the fishing
462 nets and hammocks. Barrett's discussion of *Cayapa* basketry is outstanding. The *Cayapa* make many kinds of baskets, mats, and hats of bark and of various roots.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery is crude and undecorated. It is used particularly for
177 storage. Tradition claims that in their old Highland habitat the *Cayapa* made better pottery but that cabinashes have since largely replaced ceramics.

324 **Stonework and metalwork.**—Stonework is limited to the metates
325 used in grinding corn and plantains. Although in aboriginal times Lowland Ecuador was a famous area of metallurgy, there is no evidence that the contemporary *Cayapa* practiced it.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapon most widely used today is the muzzle-loading
177 shotgun. The blowgun was important in the past, but today its use is restricted to boys, who shoot poison darts while playing at hunting. Hardwood bows are being given up, and the bow and arrow is said not to be mentioned in *Cayapa* tradition. The steel machete is ubiquitous.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente politico, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WELFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

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Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (fajas).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. Guarapo, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

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ENGLISH	SPANISH	CAYAPA
lemon	limon	lē'mō (lēmō'-tcī = the tree)
	chocolatillo	tcūkūla'le, tcūkūlaū'a
sandpaper tree		lya'pic-bakī
plantain	plátano	pa'nda
banana	seda	sē'da, shda-khū'a
	hoja blanca	ū'ha-bakī[a]
	hoja negra	e'lūū-bakī
sugar-cane	caña dulce	e'lla
wild cane	caña brava	nya'nyi
corn	maiz	pi'cū
tobacco	tabaco	ta'kō
yuca		kō'tcū, kō'ctcū
	rascadera	sū'a
pineapple	piña	tcī'lya
pepper	aji	tyū
[177] pumpkin	yerba buena	ēvī vē'nō[b]
	sapayo	ū
	kuna-kuna	va'-tcī
	matamba	hī'ta
		nisncū'a[c]
	tangarva	dū'a-tcī

Palms

ivory nut	palma tagua	tī'mō bdlō (tī'ō-tcī = the palm)[d]
	palma real	ōya'-tcī

[a] This term, like the Spanish *hoja blanca*, signifies "white leaf."

[b] The name of this introduced plant is obviously a corruption of the Spanish.

[c] A porous vine used as a smoking material by children.

[d] In the majority of cases the names given by informants for these palms are combinations of the simple names of the palms with the word *tcī*, signifying "tree." The five cases in which the simple name was obtainable are here noted, the compound terms following them in parentheses.

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Cholo

groups are much closer than are those of either with the Barbacoa, but there seem to be a sufficient number of features in common between these two Colombian stocks on the one hand, and the Cayapa and Colorado dialects on the other, to warrant the inclusion of all these in a larger group or linguistic family.

On the north the nearest Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are those commonly called by the ambiguous term "Chokó," and who live along the Río Santiago, a small stream which empties into the ocean at about 2° 50' N., at a point nearly opposite the island of Gorgona. These people are entirely different from the Cayapa in language and culture; but there is a certain amount of intermingling between the two, and a marked influence is exerted by the Chokó on some features of Cayapa culture, especially medicine practices.

The only other Indian neighbors of the Cayapa are the Quichua, or Kechua, descendants of the historic Inca peoples, who live in the interior valleys, the nearest being those about Ibarra and Cotacachi. Although they are of an entirely different linguistic stock, there is here also a certain amount of intermingling, small parties of Quichua making occasional trips down to the coast, and small parties of Cayapa making occasional trips into the mountains. At the present time, however, the trails are much neglected and are extremely difficult to travel, so that the intercourse is very slight.

The only other peoples with whom the Cayapa come into contact are the few European or North American whites, and the many negroes, descendants of former

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slaves of this western coast, especially of Colombia. These negroes live adjacent to and mingle very much with the Cayapa, and have exerted a strong influence on some features of their culture, especially their music. 177 [533]

HISTORY

According to Cayapa tradition, the original home of the people was in the mountains near Ibarra. At a time probably very near that of the advent of the first Spaniards, the Cayapa as a body moved to what is now known as Pueblo Viejo de Cayapas, in the mountains drained by the upper course of the Rio Santiago. Various reasons are given for this migration, some affirming that it was because of their fear of the invaders (and, as one informant said, especially the fear of their horses), while others say that it was due to the general alteration in their mode of life as a result of the conquest. Still others claim that the migration occurred some time prior to the conquest, and that it was due to their love of peace and their distaste for the hostilities forced on them by the invading Quichua, or Incas as they are so often called, who, only a comparatively short time prior to the arrival of the Spanish explorers, had invaded Ecuador and subjugated its various peoples in the interior, even as far north as what is now the northern boundary of the republic. One informant related a traditionary tale to the effect that the Cayapa migrated by the advice and under the leadership of a certain shaman who, dissatisfied with conditions as they were at Ibarra, called through his magic a jaguar which he entrusted with the duty of finding a more suitable abode. After 173

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motion is desired, a string with a grip is used. Occasionally a girl may be seen spinning a top, but it is primarily an amusement of the boys.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Buildings

The buildings of the Cayapa may be divided into four classes: the dwelling or regular abode, the rancho or temporary structure, the cane-mill and distillery, and the church, this last, of course, being of modern introduction. All these buildings, except the church, which is at ground level, are pile structures and are constructed according to a single general plan.

In pls. I-IV are shown typical dwellings. They are always rectangular in ground-plan (pl. XI), and vary in size according to the number of occupants, some reaching large dimensions. The dwelling of which the above-mentioned ground-plan is presented is 87 feet in extreme length and 41 feet in width. Dwellings are almost invariably situated along the river bank, and each is flanked by fields of sugar-cane, plantains, bananas, cacao, pineapples, and other crops. The dwellings are raised four to twelve feet from the ground, and access is gained by means of ladders such as those illustrated in fig. 1, especially those of the types shown in *a* and *d*.

The houses are fairly simple in construction. The framework consists of a number of heavy squared posts of a hard black wood called by the local Spanish name

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342 A platform of bamboo is next constructed at an
[349] elevation of two or three feet from the ground. The
314 split green leaves, prepared as above, are then placed on this platform and a thatch built over and around them so as to protect them completely from the weather. This is done usually at the place where the leaves are cut, probably more as a matter of convenience than for any other reason, since the leaves when green are very heavy but on drying become very light. They are allowed to season here for at least two months, after which they are transported to the point where they are to be used. In some cases, however, the freshly cut leaves are transported at once to the house for which they are intended and there cured.

This seasoning in a dry place is absolutely necessary, since if the leaves were placed on the roof while still green, the constant rains of this region would soon rot
[325] them. It is further claimed that if used when green they are soon attacked by insects, especially cockroaches, which, as before mentioned, are very numerous and troublesome.

342 The negroes also use the tagua-leaf to a large extent
177 for thatch, and in its preparation they are very strict in their observance of certain rules concerning the phases of the moon. No timber may be felled and no thatch leaves cut in the light of the moon. In the case of timber, it is claimed that it is both subject to the attacks of insects and is rendered much more likely to break or split in working if cut in the light of the moon than if cut in the dark of the moon. Likewise thatch

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cut in the light of the moon is practically worthless. The Indians, however, while they have adopted certain of the negro customs, and while they recognize this one to a limited extent, are usually much more governed by necessity and convenience in the cutting of the thatch or the felling of timber than by the phases of the moon. The bundles, or sets, of four half-leaves are applied directly to the bamboo rafters, the midribs of the leaves being quite sufficient to serve as horizontal supports for the thatch. Beginning at the eaves, the bundles are laid in courses in the same manner as are shingles. The natural underside of the leaf is placed uppermost, and the courses are laid with only about six to eight inches of the tips of the leaflets exposed to the weather. Each bundle is securely bound with pitigua, in from two to four places, to the rafters it crosses. By this overlapping process a thick and watertight roof is secured. The leaflets run directly down the slant of the roof, thus naturally tending to conduct the water from one tier of thatch to the next. Further, as above mentioned, the natural undersides of the leaflets are placed uppermost, and each of these leaflets forms a small shallow trough which readily conducts water. The thatch of the large house above referred to and illustrated (pl. xi) is no less than three inches, and in places probably four inches, in thickness. In this structure the northern gable of the section *a* consists of ten rafters covered with fifty-seven courses of thatch. The sides of this section consist of seventeen rafters covered with sixty courses of thatch.

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near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. x, xi, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. vi is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. v, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the streams. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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quest, differs from the other buildings in that it is not raised above the ground and in that it is always enclosed nowadays with lumber obtained from the mills near the mouth of the river. Within the church there is a rude, high altar, with several images of saints; otherwise the building is entirely unfurnished. The front of the church at Pueblo Sapuyo Grande is shown in pl. IV, and the fundamental differences in construction between a church and a dwelling are well shown by the contrast between the two buildings in this illustration. The building in the left foreground is the convento, or house of the priest, and is a typical Cayapa dwelling in every respect. The most characteristic features of a church—its lack of piles, its completely enclosed sides, and its roof, the central portion of which is raised some feet above the remainder—are well shown in the illustrations of the church at Punta Venado. This structure, which is the largest of the three churches of the Cayapa, is shown in the background of pl. XXIV and in pls. CXXXII, CXXXIII, CXXXV, and CXXXVII. It is about 80 feet long, 35 feet wide, and about 25 feet high at the ridge of the building. The eaves are about 10 feet above the ground. This building is nearly twice the size of the church at either Pueblo Sapuyo Grande or Pueblo San Miguel. Of these two churches the latter is somewhat larger than the former. The church at Punta Venado differs from the other two also in that it has a wooden floor, which, like its sides, is made of sawed lumber. The framework of the church is in all essentials the same as that of a dwelling, except for the fact that the

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greater size of the structure calls for correspondingly larger and stronger timbers and pillars. Furthermore, the fact that the floor is at ground level makes unnecessary the timbers which in the dwelling are required to support the floor.

Dress

At the present time the everyday dress of the men consists chiefly of two pieces: a very small, tight-fitting clout (pl. CXVI, 1–3), similar in appearance to short bathing trunks, and an improvised shirt made of calico or of gaudily figured bandana handkerchiefs. On special occasions, such as at feasts and other gatherings, a man adds to this a hat of European or of American manufacture; necklaces of beads, buttons, and silver coins; wrist-bands and neck-bands of small white buttons; and decorations upon the face and exposed parts of the body in red, yellow, or black paint. These ornaments are used to some extent also in the everyday life of the people. In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various types of necklaces and neck- and wrist-bands, and in pls. XXXIX-LII are illustrated typical paintings of the face, arms, and legs. Some of the men paint very little, others very elaborately; some wear no necklaces or similar decorations, others wear many such ornaments; and still others bedeck themselves in both manners very profusely.

The small trunk is ordinarily made of the same kind of native cloth as is used by the women in their dress. It is cut from a piece woven specially for the purpose

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291 294 [462] and containing a sufficient amount of cloth to make two clouts. Each clout consists of two pieces sewed along a seam running up the front and back. The cloth itself is woven by the women, as is the woman's dress or manta: but the sewing of the clout is done by the men, for the women almost never do any sewing for themselves or for others. The fact that the woman's dress requires no sewing may account for her lack of 291 knowledge in this direction. The clouts are made to fit very tightly, so tightly in fact that they make deep impressions in the muscles of the legs. On account of this tightness no gathering-string or other method of fastening is ordinarily required. Occasionally a man is found who makes his clout a trifle looser than customarily, and provides it, on the right-hand side, with a button [177] to hold it in place. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly the universal custom. In recent times, however, the very tight clout has almost entirely supplanted the other form.

291 177 The influence on the life of the Cayapa exerted at the present time by modern commerce and its manufactured articles is here again shown by the use of white muslin in the making of the clouts. In fact, at present the muslin clout is almost, if not quite, as common as is that made of the native cloth.

291 It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were mountaineers, they used the poncho which at present is so common among the Indians of the interior Andean region. On migrating into the warmer and more humid coastal region, however, the poncho was found un-

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comfortable and gave place to the lighter shirt which at present is made of bandana handkerchiefs or of calico. Such garments are worn by the men and boys shown in pl. XXV-XXXVIII. This shirt is made by sewing the cloth into the form of a bag, with an opening just large enough to admit the head, and with two openings at the corners for the arms. At the arm-holes the garment fits very tightly; otherwise it is a very light, loose-fitting shirt which protects to a certain extent the upper part of the body from the strong though diffused sunlight, and, to a much greater extent, from the attacks of insects. Often, when about the house or elsewhere under conditions which make it superfluous, the shirt is not worn.

Both men and women wear necklaces to a considerable extent as a part of their daily attire, and on festal occasions. These ornaments are at present made largely of glass and porcelain beads of various kinds, of small buttons, and of silver coins. In primitive times necklaces probably were as much used as at present, but they were made largely of the seeds of certain plants of the region and from the iridescent wing-covers of a large beetle, *Euchroma goliath*. Necklaces of some of these materials are sometimes still found, but they have been largely supplanted by those made of the intrusive materials described.

In pls. LIII-LVI are shown various neck and wrist ornaments. Those shown in pls. LIII, 2-6, and LIV are made of seeds of various kinds, selected for their sweet scent or for their color. The one presented in pl. LIII, 1,

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is of beads and coins; in pl. LV, 1, is shown a necklace consisting of four strands of glass beads, while in pl. LVI, 2, is represented a necklace of beads, coins, and sweet-scented leaves, with two pan-pipes attached to it. A unique type of neck-band is shown in pl. LV, 2, 3; these consist of a woven band to which are attached pendants of haliotis shell. In pls. LV, 4, and LVI, 1, are illustrated a neck-band and a pair of wrist-bands made of buttons, to the former of which are attached a number of coins.

Perforation of either the nose or the ears appears to have been an unknown custom among Cayapa men, hence no nose or ear ornaments worn by men are found. Some of the women at present perforate their ears and suspend from them, as ornaments, small strings of beads or other bright manufactured objects. Neither men nor women ever use native shoes or sandals of any description, nor in former times were hats worn by the men. Subsequent to the Spanish conquest, however, a hat, resembling in form that of the conquistadores, was made from pitigua and used to a limited extent by the men. At present the men use, especially at times of fiestas, the white-man's hat and other wearing apparel obtained from the settlements down the river. Vests and derby hats are highly prized, the former being decorated with buttons, bright-colored yarn, and especially with rows of small silver coins. Those who do not possess vests of the kind made by the whites often improvise a vest-like garment from ordinary cloth. Such a garment is in use by the larger individual seen

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BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PL. XXVI

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FIESTA COSTUME WITH FOREIGN HAT

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FIESTA COSTUMES

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301

FIESTA COSTUMES

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in pl. xxv. These improvised vests are often decorated with small holes in lines or in crosses or other patterns.

The everyday dress of the women consists of a manta, or skirt (pls. cxii-cxv), girded about the waist usually with a narrow tasseled belt (pl. cvii, 1, 2). In addition, necklaces are almost always worn, and ear pendants are sometimes used. This simple attire is also the one worn at feasts and other gatherings, except on certain special occasions, such as dances and church ceremonies. At such times the head and upper part of the body are completely covered with bright-colored calico or with gaudy bandana handkerchiefs; also in canoeing on a hot day a similar covering for head and shoulders is made of black or bright-colored calico, or of handkerchiefs. With this head-covering for canoeing is usually worn a ma'te, or hemispherical calabash cap, as a further protection from the sun. The manta, or skirt, above mentioned, is almost always of native fabric, and consists simply of a rectangular piece of cloth sufficiently wide to reach from the waist to slightly above the ankles, and of such length as to pass once and a third round the body. The two vertical edges of the garment are made to overlap at the back, and by pulling from time to time upon the upper corners, the garment is held in place under the narrow woven belt or the pita cord which is sometimes used in its stead. Frequently also over this tightly woven and fairly heavy garment is worn another of lighter material, which passes in the opposite direction about the body, so that the edges overlap in

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With these pigments, especially with the black, are made a great variety of designs ranging from broad bands to very fine dots and narrow lines. As is shown in pl. XXXIX-121, the designs employed in these face and body paintings are of almost limitless variety and combination; however, while the Cayapa have developed this phase of personal adornment to such a degree, they never recognize any special signification in the designs employed. The designs, as those on mantas, canoes, calabashes, and other decorated articles, are sometimes named, but in few cases was it found that any of them were intended to be graphic, and in no instance was any symbolic meaning attached to them: they are regarded as merely decorative and have no other special purpose. Furthermore, none of the designs is the particular property of any individual or group of individuals, hence the greatest liberty is exercised in their use; in fact, it is not uncommon to see the same person change the designs on his face or body from day to day during a fiesta, and there is no sequence or other rule governing their use. Both men and women thus decorate themselves, using a small mirror in painting the face. In large measure, of course, the designs employed have been handed down from ancient times, but now and then a person depicts upon his face or body some new device taken from an article of modern manufacture. Such a case is shown in pl. LII, 11, where a modern three-pronged iron fish-spear is shown painted on a man's leg.

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to the river to lay their eggs. The large eggs of the alligator are also much in favor, and it is said by some that alligator flesh is edible. The eggs and flesh of another and slightly different species of amphibian, called tulicio in the local Spanish, are likewise used for food. In addition to these foods there are certain insects which, either full-grown or in the larval state, are much esteemed.

Various methods are employed in the preparation of these foods. The plantain, the most important food product of the Cayapa, is prepared in a variety of ways. It is almost invariably gathered while green, and is regularly eaten in that condition, though ripe plantain is frequently used for making a kind of gruel, and occasionally it is roasted. The usual method of preparing the green plantains is by boiling, the outer covering of the fruit having first been removed. They are then cooked for from a half to three-quarters of an hour in a pottery vessel, or nowadays more frequently in an iron or a granite-iron kettle, closely covered with a green leaf called ñ'tya bakí, which is very tough and is used in many ways in the preparation of food. It is impossible to cook green plantain so that it is tender, hence the usual mode of preparing it is to beat the hard, cooked fruit with a stone muller upon a mealing stone (pl. xxx, f. 2), mixing and kneading it meanwhile with the hand. Usually this beaten plantain, which is called bolo, is eaten without seasoning, although a little salt may be added, or it may be mixed with dried meat during the pounding. The boiled green plantain is also frequently eaten without

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ears each. These bunches are then hung from the roof to prevent attacks by rodents. Whenever possible the corn is hung where the heat from the fire will keep it from molding.

The foregoing are the chief agricultural food products of the Cayapa. Excepting the maize and the potato, all were introduced since the Spanish conquest and are now systematically cultivated. In this connection should be mentioned certain palms which provide food of one kind or other, and which, while they cannot be strictly classed under the head of agriculture, since they are not planted and tended as are the other plants mentioned, are of considerable economic importance.

One of these palms is that commonly known by the Spanish name chonta dura and called kanō'tcī by the Cayapa. One variety of this produces a cluster of red fruits, another a cluster of yellow fruits. The Cayapa name for the fruit of this palm is ka'imbi. Both ripen in the late summer months and are much esteemed as food. By means of a long hooked bamboo pole, these clusters are torn from just below the crown of the palm, which is usually quite tall.[1] The fruits are boiled in a cooking-pot or kettle; the tough skin is then easily peeled off, leaving the yellowish mealy meat ready to eat. In the center of this, in turn, is a very hard nut which, when cracked, yields a toothsome white meat with a flavor resembling that of ripe coconut. The mealy yellow meat is usually eaten with a little salt, but is especially good when eaten with a thick syrup made from cane juice. It is also frequently boiled in this syrup, the result being a kind of conserved fruit.

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as above mentioned, interlace with the fibers of adjoining leaves in such manner as to make it necessary to pry the leaves apart with wooden bars, are strong and pliable, and are woven into burden-bands by which heavy loads are carried. These fibers often attain a length of about four feet and are possessed of tensile strength sufficient to enable their use as strings on the wooden harp which is now made to a very limited extent by the Cayapa. This instrument was borrowed by them from the Indians of the interior, who in turn copied it from the Spanish conquerors.

Another palm, found to a limited extent along the river, is the coconut, called after the Spanish, kō'kō-tci. It does not, however, thrive at any considerable distance from the ocean, consequently few palms are found even at so short a distance up the Rio Cayapas as the mouth of the Onzole. Pl. CXXXI presents a view looking up-stream at the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas, and, upon the projection of land between them, the hacienda of one of the more prosperous of the negroes of the region. Several coconut palms appear in front of the house. Coconuts grow well along the immediate coast, and there are here large groves, the nuts being shipped to nearby villages and to points even as far away as Esmeraldas. They are purchased to a certain extent by the Indians, by whom they are used in very limited quantities as food, more especially for the so-called coconut-milk which is made from the ripe nuts.

In addition to the foregoing food-producing plants,

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27% to excess as among some other peoples. It is almost
[49] never grown by them, their supply coming from their
• [77] negro neighbors or through trade. The Indians claim that tobacco was not known to this region in aboriginal times, but that it was introduced considerably later than the Spanish conquest. This statement is borne out by the fact that the name for tobacco is ta'kō, which is evidently an adaptation of the Spanish term tabaco. They use neither pipes nor cigarettes, but confine their smoking entirely to cigars made by themselves. They procure the half leaves of tobacco in bundles, which are stored away until a smoke is actually wanted, when each person rolls his own cigar. The habit of chewing tobacco appears to be unknown.

27% 77% 789 In addition to smoking for pleasure, tobacco is used ceremonially. When it is desired to drive out malevolent spirits from a certain spot, a medicine-man is called in, and, assisted by the ordinary people present and perhaps by another medicine-man or two, he performs a ceremony which makes the place untenable for the spirits. Each participant provides himself with a cigar and a small calabash of a decoction made from the leaves of a certain herb, and all make a systematic tour of the infested place. As they go slowly along they wet everything about them with the decoction, blowing it from the mouth in a fine spray. Interspersed with this spraying is the blowing of tobacco smoke into the air and on any objects with which they come in contact. The head medicine-man sings or whistles certain songs and waves a special banner from time to time as the party proceeds, and

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imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

At the present time some of the most characteristic utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Río Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

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species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa'lyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cá'lyū, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by each a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guabo. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactá'pa cílyū,	guabo de machetes (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ní'tapa cílyū,	guabo de tucuzo.
pá' cílyū,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
só' cílyū,	guabo agrio (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pá' cílyū,	guabo.

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planting. They are, however, all eaten raw and to a limited extent by the Cayapa whenever obtainable.

Hunting

In the Cayapa region, where game of various sorts is so abundant, hunting is a practice of considerable importance. This is now done almost entirely with old-fashioned muzzle-loading shotguns, which have supplanted blow-guns almost entirely. In aboriginal times the blow-gun was the chief weapon employed in hunting, and a few of them are still in use, especially by the boys in hunting small birds. In addition to the blow-gun the Cayapa say that they formerly had lances made entirely of the wood of certain hard palms, and that more recently they used the bow and arrow. They maintain that they originally did not know the use of the bow and arrow, but that they became acquainted with these only after coming down from the high mountains to the vicinity of their present abode, which was then occupied by another people. The bow and arrow appear to have been comparatively little used at any time by the Cayapa, but formerly the lance was much used in hunting wild hogs and one or two other species of game. In fact it is still used by some in hunting the guanta, a species of large rodent which lives in burrows.

The blow-gun, called by the Cayapa pitcū'ş, is a slender tube varying from about six to nine feet in length, made of palm-wood wrapped with pitigua and the whole covered with leea, the black waterproof wax used especially for calking canoes. The blow-gun tapers

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made more effective, in case the single log above mentioned is not sufficiently heavy, by superimposing upon it another which not only adds weight and enables the trap to kill larger animals, but accelerates its action and diminishes the possibility of the game escaping after the trap is sprung but before the log can fall. Such a second log is usually a foot or so shorter than the other.

Fishing

The numerous streams of the Cayapa region are well stocked with various kinds of fish, many of which are used as food by the Indians. They are at present caught by six different methods. There are three types of nets, the "re," or large set-net, the atarraya or conical casting-net, and the small dip-net, used incidentally in connection with the set-net. These are all used to a considerable extent, especially the set-net; but the "corral," or impounding trap, the pole and line, and the "gig," or fish-spear, are much more generally used. Of these six devices, four only, the set-net, the dip-net, the corral, and the gig, appear to be of aboriginal origin.

The re, called in Cayapa wa'kû, is, like the other two nets used by the Cayapa, made of pita fiber string and is used especially in catching a very excellent species of shad (Spanish, sabalo), called by the Cayapa awi'li. For this purpose it is made with a mesh of about three inches, and varies in length from about twenty to sixty feet according to the width of the particular estero in which it is to be used. Usually near a house there are one or more esteros where shad are fairly abundant,

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fish are allowed to fall into the bottom of the canoe or into a basket, and the net is then ready for a second cast. This net serves only for taking small fish, and is not very much used by the Cayapa. Apparently their knowledge concerning this form of net was acquired from the negroes. At any rate their knowledge of its use is comparatively recent.

The dip-net, called by the Cayapa cī'a, above referred to, is a small-meshed conical net and is used not only for fishing, as above described, but especially is it employed for catching the small lobster, or crayfish, called by the Cayapa pī'rū or a'lāch, which is so abundant along the banks of the river and especially along the banks of the esteros tributary to the river. The opening of this dip-net is held in shape by a hoop made of a pliable vine simply bent around and its two ends tied firmly together. Thus one end of the hoop is rounding and the opposite end, the one used as a handle, is fairly sharp-pointed. The dimensions of this opening are perhaps fifteen to twenty inches by thirty to thirty-six inches, and the distance from the rim to the point of the cone of the net itself is from twenty-four to thirty inches.

All nets are made from pita-fiber string, the details of the making of which, as also of net-weaving, are treated in the discussion of cordage and netting.

A corral, or impounding trap, such as that shown in pl. xxvii, is used by almost everyone living along the tidewater portion of this river system; and, owing to the level character of this coastal plain, the tidal rise

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it is then that the shad travel near the bank in search of food. Furthermore, the opening of the trap is ordinarily somewhat above water at low tide, as is shown in the illustration above mentioned, the photograph for which was taken at very low tide and when the whole corral was entirely above the water line. The greatest of care must be exercised in watching one of these corrals, since the fish are easily alarmed and any noise or unusual movement about the corral is likely to frighten them away. Frequently, in order to render the surroundings more realistic and natural, some palm-leaves or some branches of trees are placed in or along the bank about a corral. The trap being sprung, the fish are impounded until the tide ebbs, when they are left in very shallow water, or even in the mud itself, and may be easily taken from the corral. The catch in one of these corrals is, of course, very uncertain, but frequently several fish are taken at one time, and while shad are especially sought, various other fish are impounded as well. 226

Fish-spears or gigs are of two kinds. That at present in use for large fish is of the ordinary trident form, called s'ata in Cayapa, and is strictly an introduction of civilization. Its head nowadays is made by blacksmiths at the coast. The pole on which this head fits is from ten to fifteen feet in length. One end of the pole is split and the flat tang of the spearhead is inserted, the joint being securely wrapped with pita string, which is water-proofed and protected by means of beeswax. As an additional precaution against loss, 227 [illegible]

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227 several stout strands of pita cord are fastened securely to the head at the point where the prongs branch off from the tang, and these are attached to the pole at a point a few inches up from the head. Thus in case the head should pull out of its socket it is still securely fastened to the pole and cannot be lost.

The other form of fish-spear, called in Cayapa pāyā'lya, is made usually with a long, slender, palm-wood pole not more than half an inch in diameter, the prongs being made from heavy fish-hooks which have been straightened out. The point of the pole is fairly flat and about an inch in width. From two to four straightened fish-hooks are bound to this flat point by means of pita cord, which is then thoroughly covered with bees to make it impervious. This form of gig is 226 suitable only for catching very small fish. While the 227 [77] gigs of the present time are thus made of iron, the aboriginal spears were similarly shaped but were provided with points of hard palm-wood.

227 Another gig, made in the same manner as the last, 228 but usually with a heavier pole and heavier points, is used for spearing water-turtles, which are fairly abundant here. This gig is called pāyā'lya, as well as bow'ska or is also, and the only marked difference between it and the fish-gig just described is that its points have no barbs. It is said by the Indians that it is impossible to pierce the shell of a turtle with a barbed gig, but that the barbless point passes through the shell easily. The amapion, or land-turtles, having harder shells, are always caught by hand.

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At the present time the hook-and-line is very much used in fishing, though this was introduced by the whites. Strong, slender, fish-poles, called watgū-tca'll, seven to ten feet in length, are made from the upper branches of the large bamboo. They are gathered when thoroughly matured but while still green, and are hardened and straightened by heating. The lines, called watgū-tcū'a, or sadū'a, are made of native pita string and are usually quite fine. The strength of the pita fibers makes it possible to use a very fine line for comparatively large fish. Such a fish-line, provided with a special pottery sinker and an ordinary steel fish-hook, is shown in fig. 9; it is wound in this case on a cylindrical piece of balsa. This line is called tcūndyē'pū and is used in the hand after the fashion of a troll. In case it should be dropped or pulled overboard, it is saved by means of the balsa float. Ordinarily all lines are provided with lead sinkers, but the pottery cylinder especially made as a sinker is an old type and was formerly very much used. Hooks, called watgū'la, are now obtained from traders at the coast, although it is

FIG. 9.—Fish-line with pottery sinker

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said that when this method of fishing was first introduced through contact with the early Spaniards, crude hooks were fashioned by hammering out pieces of iron.

At the present time this method of hook-and-line fishing is so much in vogue that almost every man has his special little canoe and a special short paddle which are used almost exclusively for fishing. It is customary to paddle for some distance against the tide or current and then to fish back down with the current along the bank. In this way little effort is required in paddling, and a sculling motion of the paddle with the left hand is sufficient to keep the canoe in its desired course. With a pole and line go a small, hemispherical, calabash dish of angle-worms, a small bottle-shape basket (pl. XCIII, 3) of grasshoppers, or a calabash of a certain small reddish fruit, all of which are used as bait, each according to the kind of fish sought.

On rare occasions the trot-line, called weñgûtcû'a (?), such as that shown in pl. CXIX, 1, is used. The main line, called señgi'ri, is made usually of the coarser string fiber called by the Spanish term cosadera, while the small "leaders," called simply sañdõ'a, to which each separate hook is attached, are made of pita string.

War

The Cayapa maintain that in ancient times they rarely went to war, and then only on the greatest provocation, as, for instance, when they were harrassed by the former inhabitants of their present domain until forbearance was no longer possible and they descended from their

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adzed first. The inner sides are adzed first across the grain and then diagonally to it, and finally the bottom is adzed in a similar manner. This work is done with a hand-adz such as that shown in fig. 10.

This tool is of modern introduction, as indeed are the canoes themselves, as well as the method of their manufacture. The blade of the adz is of steel and is made by local blacksmiths down the river. The wooden handle, shown in fig. 11, is made by the Cayapa, and is so constructed, with the large projection above and with the notches below, that the blade may be securely bound to it, as is shown in fig. 10, by means of pita-fiber string. The blade is concave, and its edge is usually quite regular and curved, so that, while its full width may be

FIG. 10.—Modern adz used in making canoes

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as great as four inches, generally not more than an inch of the edge is in actual play when a blow is struck. The particular adz here shown has a very uneven edge, due to chipping.

[77] The adz is called aswē'la and kū'le mūcte, both of which terms are derived from the Spanish, the second term signifying "canoe machete." The adz handle is called aswē'la tyapi.

FIG. 11.—Handle of adz

With this hand-adz repeated light blows are struck along one line after another, the lines being parallel, and perpendicular or diagonal to the grain of the wood. By this means the wood is reduced to uniform thickness and the surfaces are rendered comparatively smooth. The final smoothing of the inside of the canoe is done with the adz, but upon the outer surface and along both the inner and outer edges of the gunwales the adzing is followed usually by more or less smoothing with planes, called sepi'ō or sepi'lyū, made after the fashion of the ordinary carpenter's plane. The sides of a large canoe are thus usually reduced to about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, the bottom having a thickness of between two and three inches. The prow and stern of the canoe are carefully cut to the exact form desired and finished with the adz, no plane being needed at these points.

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of small ridges may now serve, however, it seems to have had its origin in a desire to ornament the stirrers, since most of them are plain at that point (as in the one shown in fig. 7), and because various stirrers of this form have carvings at that point which are similar though much smaller and are obviously purely ornamental.

A second form of stirring implement is the food paddle, called kŭwi'ñgi, two specimens of which are shown in pl. LXI, 8, 9. These are used for stirring all kinds of foods while cooking, but especially ripe plantain gruel and a kind of gruel or mush made from green corn. In many cases these paddles are perfectly plain, as is the one shown in fig. 9, but now and then they are embellished with notches or incised ornaments as is the case with the one shown in fig. 8.

A utensil in common domestic use is an elliptical wooden bowl, copied after a type made by the whites and negroes of the region and bearing only the Spanish name batea. They vary more or less in their elliptical form, but a typical specimen is shown in pl. LXII, 4. They are always provided with a projection at each end to serve as handles. They are hollowed out from a single piece of wood, and range from a foot to three feet in length. Bateas serve a variety of purposes, but they are used especially for the preparation of certain foods, such as ripe plantain gruel, corn gruel or mush, and the like. They are used also as trays for washing meats or other foods, and frequently are employed in mixing and working clay during the process of pottery-making.

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Calabash Implements and Utensils

415 177 265 A class of implements which appear to have come into use since the Cayapa moved to the river valley are made from calabashes, the gourd-like fruit of a tree grown quite commonly along the river. It is said by the Cayapa that in former times pottery was used largely for the many purposes which the various utensils made from the calabash now serve, for the reason that this tree does not grow in their former mountain home. They say that the particular species of calabash which they now grow and use so extensively is an importation from Colombia, but that there is indigenous to this section another and smaller species. The Cayapa maintain that the Indios Bravos, who formerly inhabited this region, used this indigenous calabash and made receptacles similar to those which they themselves now make.

415 265 As before described, there are now grown two different forms of calabash, the one globose (called wa'lyū), the other ellipsoidal (known as ca'lya). These fruits grow to about the size of a man's head, though sometimes they are considerably larger, and a tree produces a large number in the course of a year.

415 The calabash, for whatever purpose it is intended, is always gathered while green, but it is not at its best until it commences to ripen. On the other hand, if allowed to ripen completely it becomes too hard for use. The globose form is much more used than is the ellipsoidal, since the latter yields usually but one type of utensil: the spoon, of which six or eight are obtained from a single

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The mate[1] has still another special use—that of a woman's cap. With it is worn a piece of light-weight black cloth or a double bandana handkerchief, which passes over the head and shoulders and hangs down the back as a protection from the sun. Usually this cap is decorated with incised lines and figures, and occasionally it is used as a drinking-cup in traveling, but it is never put to any of the ordinary uses in which common mates are employed. On long canoe journeys the women usually carry special mates for use as urinals.

By means of two small perforations at each of two opposite points, a hemispherical mate is bound to a long handle to serve as a dipper, especially in the distillation of rum. Such dippers, called sûmbû and ûñkala pi chînûnt-sû'mî, are shown in pls. LXIII and LXV.

Further, the bottom of a mate may be perforated to adapt it as a sieve or strainer, called cî'cslya, in making green-corn mush and ripe plantain gruel. Attached to a long handle, such a strainer is employed for skimming the froth which rises in boiling cane juice preparatory to fermentation.

The third form of calabash implement is the spoon, called ci'ñ kûtcada, from Spanish cuchara. This implement is always made by cutting narrow sections from the side of an ellipsoidal calabash with the saw-like machete above mentioned. One of these fruits ordinarily provides material for six to eight spoons, varying in length from three or four to as much as fifteen inches. The large spoons are commonly used for stirring food while cooking, and both the large and the small

[1] [i.e, a hemispherical gourd container.---Analyst]

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ones are used to a certain extent in eating, although for this purpose they have been largely superseded by iron spoons. Calabash spoons, like the mates, are often ornamented with incised lines.

Pottery

The Cayapa make a rather crude, heavy pottery vessel, entirely undecorated except in a few forms in which incised lines and dots are impressed in the rim or the shoulder; but no painting, slipping, or glazing is used. The generic name for pottery is pia'ma, or bla'ma.

There are in all ten forms of pots, eight of which are in general use among the Cayapa. All are shown in outline in pl. LXXXVII. These types are: 1, A shallow plate form (fig. 4), called specifically tō' palatō. 2, A somewhat deeper cooking-pot (figs. 1–3), the sides of which, under ordinary circumstances, are comparatively straight, while the rim is without a lip. 3, Another cooking-pot (fig. 6), with a more or less hemispherical base, a pronounced shoulder around the side, and a prominent outcurving lip. 4, A small, flat-bottomed pot (fig. 5), somewhat of the form of an inverted truncated cone and with a more or less outcurving lip. 5, A somewhat globose form (fig. 8), with wide neck and outcurving rim. 6, A large storage olla (fig. 11), called specifically bū'lūm blama, with slightly oval bottom, more or less conical sides, and narrow neck with outcurving rim. 7, A large pottery caldron (fig. 7), which forms part of the still. 8, The condensing chamber (fig. 10), without bottom, used in distilling rum. Pots of the

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[415] 285 [352] baskets (pl. XCIII, 8), used as receptacles for spindles; mats (pl. CVI, 1, 2); fans (pl. CIV); and rings used as rests for calabashes (fig. 13). In all of these the material used is the bark of the fan-leaf palm, locally called paenbil. But one type of basket has been encountered in which this technic is found in combination with another material: this is a square-bottomed, cylindrical basket similar in form to that shown in pl. XCII, 3, and is made of pitigua. A section of the side and border of this basket is shown in pl. XCIV, 6.

285 The manipulation of the elements in twilling varies considerably in Cayapa basketry. There are three fundamental methods of handling these elements, as follows: (1) A method by which one element passes over two and under two of the elements which run in the opposite direction (pl. XCIV, 3); (2) a method by which it passes in a similar manner over three and under three (pl. XCIII, 6, 10); (3) a method in which an element passes over seven and under one (pl. XCIII, 2, 5, 8, 11; and pl. XCIV, 5). [177] The last form is said to have been introduced among the Cayapa by the Indians of Colombia, and in substantiation of this it may be noted that the few Cholo who now live on the Rio Cayapas use this form of twilling extensively. The two simpler forms of twilling, so far as could be ascertained, have been long in use among the Cayapa.

In case no design is attempted, as in the basket shown in pl. XCIII, 11, or a simple design be desired, as in the baskets shown in the same plate, 6, 10, and pl. XCIV, 2, 3, these fundamental methods of handling the elements are not varied throughout the basket. If, on the other

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246 The cotton ordinarily grown in this section is of a brownish color, and it is claimed by the Cayapa that this is indigenous. It must be said, however, that brown cotton rarely grows wild along the river or in the mountains, but is seen almost exclusively about inhabited places or the sites of recently abandoned habitations.

The second variety of cotton is pure white and is also grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent. It is maintained that this is not a native plant, but is a direct importation from the mountain region or from the Rio Esmeraldas territory. In fact, this white cotton is now sometimes purchased by the Cayapa in their trips to the Rio Esmeraldas, because so little of it is grown along their own river.

When the cotton bolls open and the seeds with their covering of fine fibers are almost ready to drop, they are gathered and, if necessary, dried. The contents of two of these fully opened bolls are shown in pl. CVII, 11. It is frequently desirable to store the cotton away in this form for some time, in which event a considerable number of the bolls are made up into a package which is wrapped with a leaf or two of hoja blanca. Such a bundle is usually tied with a piece of pitigua and in this form may be stored for an indefinite period. In the bundle shown in pl. CVII, 12, a section of the wrapping has been torn away in order to show the contents. When it is desired to prepare the cotton for use, the bolls are cleaned of the seeds and of any foreign matter that may have become mixed with the fibers, since the presence of any foreign substance interferes materially with spinning. In this

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Starting with a series of five knots and meshes at the point, this net is widened, as in the case of that above described, by adding an extra mesh at each end of each course. In addition, an extra mesh is added at the middle of each course, thus producing a double line down the middle of the net, as shown in fig. 27. To complete the net it is necessary only to join the open edges. This produces a conical net about two feet deep from the point to the opening, which is itself about thirty-six by eighteen inches.

The principle of the conical casting net, shown in pl. cxx, 1, is presumably adopted from the negroes, being made in exactly the same way as the nets manufactured by them. Furthermore, it bears the name ata'ia, clearly derived from the local Spanish term atarraya.

In general technic this net is similar to the set-net above described, although its point is started quite differently. First a considerable number of fine pita cords (in one instance forty were counted) are braided tightly together to form a strong loop about two inches long, into which is fastened the line by which the net is drawn in after a cast is made from the canoe. The loop must be very strong, and in order to add to its strength it is tightly wound for a space of three-quarters of an inch along its lower part. Out of this binding emerge therefore, in the above-mentioned instance, the forty pairs of strands which are immediately tied to form the first course of forty knots and meshes. The second course has the same number, but thenceforth the number increases. Into every alternate mesh of this second course is looped another cord, thus producing in the third course

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[551] In the matter of the forms also, the designs fall practically into these general groups, though in certain instances the same design is found in more than one group. Taken as a whole Cayapa designs are largely geometric, the only exceptions being in the carved wooden dolls, in a few calabash designs, and in a considerable number [77] of the designs on soft textiles. Now and then a realistic modern design is found also upon a canoe and in rare instances in a painting upon the human body. This entire statement applies to the frequency of occurrence of the different types of design. If considered, however, from the standpoint of the number of various elemental designs of the realistic class as compared with elemental designs of the strictly geometric class, the former are fully equal to the latter, though the geometric designs are subject to greater variation.

[552] It is remarkable that few names are given designs except in the case of those on soft textiles. In the case of the face, arm, and leg paintings, for instance, no names were obtainable, and they have no symbolic significance. This fact is noteworthy when so large a series of designs is found (pl. XXXIX–LII) and when they are so universally and extensively used. The only exception to this rule is that of the trident-shape design shown in pl. LII, 11. This, however, is strictly modern and was copied directly from the fish-spear.

[553] Also in the considerable series of canoe designs shown in pl. LXXII–LXXV, no specific names were given by informants. These are all old-type designs and much preferred by the Cayapa to the modern designs which some paint on canoes made for sale, but never upon those

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Plate	Figure	
CXXV	22	sutsû dĕ'tcû (an untranslatable form of zigzag)
	23	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above eye (kapû'ka) and little eye (ka' kapûka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles formed by the zigzag
	24, 25, 26	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above.
	27	big zigzag (e' dĕtcû) eye (kapû'ka and small eye (ka kapû'ka) refer to the diamond-shape figures in the angles of the zigzag
	28, 29, 30	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above
	31	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above pĭlya dĕ'we (pi'lya signifies design, and it appears that dĕ'we may possibly be related to dĕ'tcû, meaning zigzag. This design consists in part of a zigzag)
	32	big zigzag (e' dĕtcû) hû'rûlara, hû''la (untranslatable) eye (kapû'ka). This term applies to the diamond-shape portions of the design
	33	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above
	34	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above tongue of sting-ray (tyû'wi nĭ'ka)
	35	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above hû'rûlara, hu''la (untranslatable)
	36	bimbû'ka (piande, a small species of lizard) e pala'tcû (e signifies big; pala'tcû is untranslatable)
	37	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above
	38	pala'ra (untranslatable) pala'tcû (untranslatable) hû'rûlara, hû''la (untranslatable)
	39	No interpretation was given for this design, since it appears to be of modern origin. Such a modern design is usually called te'mbû pĭlya, which signifies handkerchief design from the fact that they are derived largely from handkerchiefs of modern manufacture
	40	big zigzag (e' dĕtcû)
	41, 42, 43	zigzag (dĕ'tcû). See fig. 15 above

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Glossary of Maya Design Names

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bait, kama'da. Also said to be the name of a certain crustacean, called in Spanish camaron brava. CXXIV, 35.

balya'lyas (untranslatable). CXXIII, 11; CXXVI, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 29, 32, 34, 35, 41, 43; CXXVII, 38.

basket. See pû'te.

belt or girdle, tcû'mbî, a term that may be used as part of the name of any design on a belt. CXXV, 44; CXXVI, 16, 17, 21, 28, 42; CXXVII, 21, 38.

bird, pî'tcû. CXXIV, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 43; CXXV, 6, 10, 13, 14.

la'pî'tcû. A small black and yellow bird, a good singer, much kept as a pet by the Cayapa. Spanish, pichicha. CXXIV, 44.

tû'mbîtcîlît. A small black bird with red beak. CXXIV, 39.

frigate bird, nyamîtwa'tû. CXXIV, 34.

boa constrictor, we'sû. CXXVII, 1.

burro, bû'rû. CXXIV, 11.

buzzard, kû'ndûrûrû, petyû'tyû; Spanish, gallinazo. CXXIV 36, 44.

canoe design, kûm lû'lya: kûm, from kû'lu, canoe. CXXVI, 46.

centipede's hand, te'ûnde tyapa; hand (not leg) = tyapa'pa. CXXIV, 57; CXXVI, 49.

chicken, walya'pa. CXXIV, 26, 37.

color. Frequently an informant gave as the name of a particular design the name of the color of the material from which it was made. Such names, of course, have no significance in the interpretation of designs, but are of interest in that often they were the only ones obtainable. The names particularly used in this connection were:

te'nda, green thread, from a small shrub called te'nda tci, the leaves of which provide the pigment used in coloring this thread. [386]

ka'kû, lavender thread, this color being obtained from a small periwinkle-like mollusk.

The names for other colors were almost never used in this manner.

cow, waga'ra, from Spanish vaca. CXXIII, 35; CXXIV, 10, 15.

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crab, se'lī, the small red land-crab. CXXIII, 30; CXXIV, 35, 36, 38.

tepul se'lī, a certain species from the coast region. CXXIV, 35.

crab eye, se'kapūka, se'lī kapūka. This refers to the eye of the small red land-crab called se'lī. CXXVII, 32, 36.

crab design, se' pilya: se from se'lī, crab; pi'lya, design. CXXVII, 12, 24, 25, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37.

se' pilya tyūndyā tū lara: se' pilya, crab design, the remainder is untranslatable. CXXVII, 24, 25.

crab design tenhuis (literally), se' pilya denhua. CXXVII, 37.

crab design white cotton (literally), se' pilya tlhat thuka. CXXVII, 37.

cross, kasī'sa, from Spanish cruz. CXXVII, 20.

deer, na'ya. CXXIII, 40, 41; CXXIV, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13.

delam ba"la (untranslatable). CXXVII, 29.

design. In many cases informants simply gave the term pi'lya, or hi'lya, which signifies design or pattern. It would appear that it was employed in cases where the design was of unknown signification, or where it was newly introduced. Such a general term is, of course, applicable to all patterns.

belt design, tcū'mhā pilya. This term applies to any pattern on a belt or girdle, regardless of its form. CXXII, 10; CXXVII, 38. See belt.

horizontal design, dē'pat hilya. CXXVI, 13.

dog, kū'tca. CXXIII, 45; CXXIV, 7, 19; CXXV, 12.

kū'tca petl: pe'lī is untranslatable. The rectangular figures of this pattern are referred to by this name. CXXVII, 42.

dove, Spanish, paloma. CXXIV, 29, 31.

partū'kū. A reddish species as large as a chicken. CXXIV, 25.

wa'pū'pū. A small reddish species. CXXIV, 24, 42.

duck, Spanish, pato. CXXIV, 36.

dū'lalara kapūka (dū'lalara is untranslatable; kapū'ka, eye). CXXVII, 36.

ear, pū'dar. CXXII, 49.

egret, white, ka'tcū; Spanish, garza. CXXIV, 45, 29.

e hō"la (e, hic; hō"la, untranslatable). CXXII, 5; CXXVII, 7, 10.

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e bū'rūlara (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 2.

e pala'bū (e, big; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXV, 36; CXXVII, 1.

eye, kapū'ka. CXXV, 17, 23, 27, 32; CXXVII, 5, 23, 27, 39.

kapūka dalalale'tā (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 39.

ka'kapūka, "little eye." The small diamond-shaped designs on mantas, etc. CXXV, 23, 27.

ka'pūka ya dūtā (kapū'ka, eye; the remainder is untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.

ka'pū tū'lara, to turn the eyes in an upward direction, i.e., to look decidedly upward. CXXVII, 28.

finger-tables, pa'lāgi, a contraction of palūa lāki. CXXV, 28.

fruit, all classes, pū'ka. CXXVI, 61.

girdle. See belt.

goat, tū'bū; Spanish, chiva. CXXVII, 26, 27; CXXIV, 9, 26.

guinea pig, e'ne. CXXIV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11.

handkerchief, tū'mbū balya'lya (tū'mbū, a contraction of tumbū'pū, handkerchief; balya'lya, untranslatable. CXXIV, 21; CXXVI, 47.

handkerchief design, tū'mbū pūlya (tumbū'pū, handkerchief. CXXIV, 21; CXXV, 39; CXXVI, 6, 9, 14, 30, 31, 36, 43, 44, 46, 47.

hawk, bāya'lyā; Spanish, gabilan. CXXIII, 42.

hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 26, 43; CXXVII, 10.

horse, kava'lyū; Spanish, caballo. CXXIII, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37; CXXIV, 7, 14, 21, 28, 36; CXXV, 8, 14.

hū'la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17, 21; CXXV, 32, 33, 36; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17.

hū'lara (untranslatable). CXXVI, 9.

human being, tca'hū. CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 24, 29, 30, 43; CXXIV, 5, 6, 17; CXXV, 1, 2, 10.

hū'rūla (untranslatable). CXXVII, 5.

hū'rūlara (untranslatable). CXXIII, 17; CXXV, 32, 33, 36; CXXVI, 2, 3, 4, 6, 22; CXXVII, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17.

kde'bū (untranslatable). CXXIV, 22.

kū'ira pe'ū (kū'ira, dog; pe'ū, untranslatable). The rectangular figures of this pattern are thus referred to. CXXVII, 42.

ladder, lya'pū; Spanish, escalera. CXXVI, 23; CXXVII, 24, 25, lya'lena, i.e. palm-wood steps of a house-ladder. CXXV, 17, 44; CXXVI, 10; CXXVII, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30.

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lizard, CXXIV, 18.
lámbú'ka, a large species; Spanish, piande. CXXIV, 58; CXXV, 36.
lá'mbú nagtpá, i.e., egg of a lizard called lámbú'ka. CXXVI, 1, 3, 6, 22.
lá'mbú nyagu, liver of a lizard called lámbú'ka. CXXVI, 5.
monkey, cu'tí, a small species; Spanish, machin and mico. CXXIII, 22, 23, 29, 33, 39; CXXIV, 16; CXXV, 3, 4, 5, 6.
wa'cú, wa'cú; a species larger than the machin but smaller than the large black monkey called mongon; Spanish, mono. CXXIII, 22, 39, 43.
oo'lá nagtáa. See crab eye.
olim bi'lpa (untranslatable). This design is one of those most frequently employed. CXXVII, 12, 27, 32, 37.
pain ela (untranslatable). CXXVI, 42; CXXVII, 21.
pain e lare (untranslatable). CXXII, 11.
pain la (untranslatable). CXXIII, 9, 10; CXXVII, 14, 42.
pain lae (untranslatable). CXXVII, 8.
pain lare (untranslatable). CXXVI, 30; CXXVII, 14.
pain re (untranslatable). CXXV, 38.
pain tetá (untranslatable; the only definition obtainable was the Spanish term garrapata). CXXIII, 21; CXXV, 38; CXXVI, 48, 49; CXXVII, 14, 19, 20.
paiá e lare (untranslatable). CXXVI, 48.
pelican, nana'ka; Spanish alcatraz. CXXIII, 38, 42; CXXV, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41.
petyú'tyá. See buzzard.
pilya dá'we; pí'lya, design; dá'we, possibly related to de'tcú, signal. CXXV, 31.
pinigua, cuúm lá'á; probably related to te'tcúmb flya, from te'trán, pinigua, and lá'lya, design. CXXV, 21.
pú'ka án (untranslatable). CXXVI, 3, 4.
pú'te wuá'cla; pú'te, hamper-shape basket; wflú'cla, untranslatable. CXXVI, 22.
ray, tongue of sting-ray, tyú'wú ní''ka. CXXV, 34.
scorpion, alagu'ra; Spanish, alacrán. CXXIV, 49, 50.
se'ná dá'tetá (untranslatable). CXXV, 22.
sheep, börrí'gó, usually called börrí'gó by the Cayapa, but called also ó'ca from Spanish oveja. CXXIV, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16.
snake, pítel. CXXV, 21.
spider, mú'tele; Spanish, araña. CXXIII, 12; CXXIV, 46, 47, 49.

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steel, ʧcialsi'ʧ, i.e., iron used with flint in striking fire. CXXVII, 22, 40, 41, 42, 43.

stick, with which achote face-paint is applied, mū'pitcipapa, mūpi ka'nū tcīpapa, mū'pi kenū tcīpapa. CXXVI, 29; CXXVII, 31.

tapū'lyū (untranslatable) CXXVI, 19.

tcū'mbi delam ba''ta (tcū'mbi, belt or girdle; delam ba''ta, untranslatable). CXXVII, 25.

technic, ba'ndilas, a certain basketry technic. CXXVII, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13.

te'pu balya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 11, 41.

toad, sa'pū, from Spanish sapo. CXXIII, 4, 17, 18, 19, 20, 59.

top, tombé'ta, from Spanish trompo. CXXVII, 20.

turkey, domestic, kaste'lya walyapa, literally Spanish or Castilian chicken. CXXIV, 22.

turtle, pitcī'li; Spanish, tortuga. CXXIV, 53, 54, 59; CXXVII, 15.

tyūlya'lya (untranslatable). CXXVI, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 40, 44, 45.

tyūm bi'lya (tyūm, probably from te'tcūa, pitigua; bi'lya, design). CXXV, 20; CXXVI, 29, 32; CXXVII, 2.

tyū'ndyū tcī lara (untranslatable). CXXIV, 17; CXXVI, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 45; CXXVII, 24.

zigzag (generic), dē'tcū. This term is usually preceded by an adjectival term which indicates the particular kind of zigzag; viz., ē' dētcū, se'rañ dētcū, tyū'mi dētcū, de''pañmi dētcū. CXXV, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 42, 43; CXXVI, 21, 41; CXXVII, 4, 11, 12, 31, 33, 40, 42.

dē'tcū serañ tsūa; (dē'tcū, zigzag; no definite translation for the remainder of the term could be obtained). CXXV, 29.

ē' dētcū; literally, big zigzag; given also as crossed zigzag, though this meaning is doubtful. CXXV, 18, 27, 32, 40; CXXVI, 3, 10; CXXVII, 1, 22.

de''pami dētcū, de''pañmi dētcū; horizontal zigzag. CXXV, 34.

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GOVERNMENT

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In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernacion, teniente politico, alcalde, comisario, capitan, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related families concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

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The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

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In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the sub-
[624] chief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out,
[674] there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are
577 more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory en-
671 actments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand.
674 The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

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declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a person enters on these duties only after having been duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

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583 knowledge of his family. These visits are repeated for
584 some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents. After this, conditions very largely govern their procedure. By some it is said that at present they go immediately to the house of the bride's or the groom's father, or to a new house of their own as soon as one can be built, and there live as man and wife without any
585 special ceremony; indeed the only ceremony celebrated is that of the church on the next annual visit of the Catholic priest. Others maintain that, having obtained the consent of all parties concerned, some time elapses before what may be called the preliminary wedding feast and ceremony. In this interval the young man and his friends must hunt and procure game, which is dried for the feast, and must provide presents for the parents and other relatives of the bride. The bride, on the other hand, provides certain of the other foods, such as plantains and corn, and she and her family make gifts to the family of the groom. There is no exchange of presents between the bride and the groom, however, and there is nothing which can in any way be construed as a purchase of the bride. Finally the relatives and friends of the contracting couple assemble, and a feast of from one to two or three days is held. At this feast the young couple are brought in and are given each ten lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails by the chief. This whipping is considered as a consummation and legalization of their marriage, so far as civil procedure is concerned. It
585 seems probable that this custom is a survival of aboriginal
177 times and that the marriage ceremony has not been so

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greatly modified by intrusive religious ideas as have many other features of Cayapa culture. With the coming of the priest, on the occasion of his annual visit, the regular church marriage rite is performed. At this ceremony there is further chastising of the contracting parties by the chief or by some one delegated by him.

On the occasion of the annual visit of the priest to one of the Cayapa pueblos, usually in August or September, a fiesta of from one to three weeks is held, during which it is customary for couples who have been married between the time of the priest's last visit and the present occasion to celebrate a marriage feast. Should it be inconvenient to celebrate the marriage feast at this particular time, it may be held at any other gathering of the people at the village, or it may even be deferred until the next annual visit of the priest. These marriage feasts are the occasion of much merrymaking. Quantities of food, rum, and tobacco are provided, and the whole village celebrates for a day or two. During the forenoon of the first day, a table, made by spreading upon the floor of the large assembly and dance hall of the chief's house a covering of hoja blanca, is filled with all kinds of food, among them being one special dish of eggs, prepared much after the manner of scrambling. At this feast a most exceptional departure from the rule of the separation of the sexes at public gatherings is observed. At all other feasts, men and boys only are permitted to enter the room in which the feast is held, but on this occasion the bride and her godmother are present. The mother of the bride, however, does not enter. Another interesting feature of this feast is that,

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upon the floor. First, the godfather of the groom, who at the same time is master of ceremonies, danced with the bride; next the groom danced with the godmother of the bride; and finally the chief, followed in order of rank by the other officials, danced with the bride. The groom danced but once during the day, whereas the bride was kept dancing almost constantly. She, however was relieved from time to time by some other member of her family, who danced in her place for a few minutes. During all this time the groom sat at one end of the dance hall with his mouth covered, and conversed with no one except his godfather, and rarely with him. During the intervals between dances the bride sat likewise in silence in an adjoining room. The dancing was kept up during the entire afternoon and night, with a single brief intermission. During this intermission the bride and groom put on new clothing and were decked with pendants and necklaces of silver coins, and with garlands of the yellow flowers so much used by the Cayapa for decorating the images of saints in the church.

After donning this finery, the groom resumed his place at the end of the hall and the bride continued her dancing, which lasted till nearly morning. With the coming of night, light, as usual, was provided in the dance hall by means of candles, small kerosene torches, and native torches (nī'lyū). Throughout the entire period the dance had been the simple one used by the Cayapa, but finally there was danced what is called the "San Juan," a recent importation from the mountain region which appears to be more or less, if not entirely, of Spanish origin.

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586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent 753 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various 776 means. For instance, they may be placed by some [754] malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the 775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer- 177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

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portant and the one which ascends to the sky after death, there to receive its proper reward or punishment. This latter notion, however, appears to have been derived from modern religious ideas. The various souls residing in other parts of the body were said by this informant to live in and about the house of the deceased until such time as they are driven out. Most informants, on the other hand, maintain that the body has but a single soul, which lives in and about the house of the deceased until driven out to the ocean or into the mountains by a shaman, there to reside eternally. Having once been thus expelled, the soul is never again seen about the house, but it may return to the cemetery or to other parts of the region. It is said to do no special harm to the living after having been driven away, but will cause the death of other members of the family if allowed to remain unmolested about the house.

On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

Before leaving the house with the body, the relatives

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The three worlds of the Cayapa are each flat, approximately square, and of about equal size. A short distance beyond the openings through which the sun and moon emerge and depart from it, are the eastern and western edges of our middle world. There are also a northern and a southern edge to the world. Beyond these edges there is nothing. 772

The upper world, ka'ica, is similar to our middle world, but it lacks rivers, the sea, and indeed any body of water. Furthermore, it never rains there. It is illuminated constantly by another sun, which is stationary. Ideas concerning the inhabitants of the upper world are not very clear. It is known that they have houses, but these are of a different form from the Cayapa dwellings, being described as somewhat like the houses built by the white people in the settlements at the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, which means that they are not set high upon piles and that they have sides (pl. CXXX-CXXXI). By some it is claimed that the souls of departed human beings reside in this upper world, but most say that they reside at certain out-of-the-way places on the earth. It is said that this upper world is inhabited by spirits, but their exact nature is not clearly understood. [775]

CREATION

The Cayapa appear to have no native account of the creation of the universe, at least all attempts to obtain such were futile, and there appears to be only a remnant of an account of the creation of human beings, and this is more or less mixed with introduced religious con- 773 177

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ceptions, if indeed it is not entirely a distortion of the biblical account of the genesis. According to this, God (Dios apa) fashioned out of clay five pairs of individuals in the form of human beings, at a point far in the mountains east of Quito; he then spat in their mouths and they sprang up in the full vigor of life. They went immediately to the region of Ibarra and became the first Cayapa. No details are given of their further existence up to the coming of the Spaniards. It is said that at that time they had so far increased as to fill the country completely. This account further states that, owing to their fear of the Spaniards, and especially of horses, they migrated to Pueblo Viejo in the lower mountains between Ibarra and the coast at a time shortly after the arrival of the first Spaniards. According to other accounts it would appear that this migration was probably prior to the conquest and may have been due to the encroachment of other tribes. It seems not improbable that the active conquest by the Quichua of Peru, which extended throughout the interior mountain region of Ecuador at a time immediately prior to the Spanish conquest, may have been the cause of this migration. Other than this meager account, the aboriginality of which is doubtful, it was impossible to obtain a trace of a creation myth accounting for the presence of human beings on the earth.

As for the universe itself, it seems to be accepted by the Cayapa as having always existed and as having required no act of special creation.

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Inanimate objects, such as waterworn pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

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LIGHTNING

776 821 Lightning, kū'ĭdya pĭdya, which almost all peoples seem to recognize in one way or another as directly connected with thunder, is attributed by the Cayapa to the sword-like weapon carried by the Thunder spirit. [177] As they describe this weapon at the present time, it is obvious that modern ideas have intruded, although it seems probable that the concept of lightning coming from an implement carried by the Thunder being is aboriginal. The sword is said to be of steel and to be carried in a scabbard; it is highly polished, so that when it is unsheathed the glint of the sunlight upon it is like the reflection from a mirror. It is maintained by some that Thunder strikes and kills people with this sword, or at any rate with the glint of light from it.

It is said that in the dry season Thunder is quite contented and lives at peace with the world. In the rainy season, however, he becomes restless and very much discontented with human beings and with conditions generally, and it is then that, according to the first informant mentioned, he flies from place to place through the clouds, flapping his wings and making an uproarious noise, swinging his sword and causing the flashes of lightning. In due time, however, his wrath subsides and he becomes weary, and during the remainder of the year he grows restless only occasionally, with the result that thunderstorms rarely occur and lightning is seldom seen.

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spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

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Another festival, having its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, is also celebrated by the Cayapa, although the date of the event is never a fixed one with them. This is ordinarily the one time of the year when a priest visits the villages, and the date of its celebration depends largely on his convenience. However, regardless of the date of its celebration, this festival is always designated "La Fiesta de Agosto."

Usually combined with all these fiestas are what are called *bodas* and *ofrendas*. In its restricted sense the boda is a marriage ceremony or a marriage feast, while the ofrenda is the feast of the dead. The latter term is used in its more restricted sense among the Cayapa, and is a special feast held usually in honor of one or more relatives of the family giving the feast who have died within the previous twelve months, although such a feast may with equal propriety be held in honor of relatives long dead, especially if they had been notable people. The boda, on the other hand, partakes as much of the nature of a mortuary ceremony as of a marriage feast, and the word *boda* is used generally to include all kinds of feasting. At all gatherings of the Cayapa, regardless of their chief purpose, the people feast and dance a great deal, and much rum is consumed.

The three fiestas mentioned, as also the boda and the ofrenda, will be described from observations made on these ceremonies during 1908 and 1909.

La Fiesta de Semana Santa

"La Fiesta de Semana Santa," or the Easter festival, which is the most important and most elaborate of the

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were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the síndico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

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form is *mañ*. Though 5 appears in the units as *ma'n-da*, it would seem, when its other forms are considered, that this is really a compound and that its simplest form is *man* or *mañ*. As with the lower numbers, in all cases in which 5 appears in the units column, it retains its unit form, but in all other cases it is changed. Since the system is in part of quinary one, 6 begins the second set or group, and 6, 7, 8, and 9 are composed of 5, with 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively, added. In these the term 5 takes the form *ma'n-dic*, probably *ma'n-da-ic* in full. In this form it occurs in all the higher numbers in which 6, 7, 8, and 9 appear. As above stated, in any of the higher numbers in which 5 itself appears in any of the columns above the units, it has the form *mañ*, which is the same rendition that it has in a sentence when followed by such a term as *ya* or *kũ'tca*, as *ma'ñ ya*, five houses, or *ma'ñ kũtca*, five dogs. In the list of numerals the three forms occur as follows:

ma'n-da occurs in 5 and 15.
ma'n-dic occurs in 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 60, 70, 80, 90, 600, 700, 800, 900, 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900, 6000, 7000, 8000, and 9000.
mañ occurs in 50, 500, 1500, and 5000.

Ten occurs as a basal number as follows: in the numbers 10 to 19, inclusive, where it is rendered *pa'il'a*, and in the higher numbers in which any one of these appears. This term ten is quite a different one from tens, *tcũ'ñga*, which is used in the numbers from 30 up. This unusual use of a term for tens which is entirely distinct from the simple 10 appears to be explainable through borrowing, since in a neighboring

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802 language, the Quichua,* both 10 and tens are rendered
[177] *tcũ'ñga*, though the cause of such borrowing, if such it is, remains uncertain. These two terms appear in the accompanying list as follows:

pa'ita appears in 10 to 19 inclusive, and in 1000 to 1900 inclusive.

tcũ'ñga appears in 30 to 90 inclusive, and in 3000 to 9000 inclusive.

Twenty, *ma'ntcalõra*, one of the two exceptions to the regularity of this numeral system, appears as a basal number in 20 and in all higher numbers in which it, as such, occurs. In the accompanying list

ma'ntcalõra appears in 20, 21, 120, 2000, 2100, and 2200.

Hundred, *pa'tsa* or *ba'tsa*, depending on its phonetic surroundings, forms the base of all numbers from 100 up. This includes the thousands also, since the system is centenary above 100. Thus, 8000 is not eight thousands but eighty hundreds.

[193] * There is in Cayapa no nominal plural, hence *tcũñga* and *ba'tsa* are both singular and plural so far as form is concerned. The former, not being the term used for 10, is really used only in a plural sense, but the latter is used as both singular and plural. Further, the term *tcũ'ñga* is, according to a short Quichua vocabulary obtained from a couple of informants temporarily on the Rio Cayapas, the regular term ten in that language and is used throughout their entire system. The term hundred has also a close parallel, *pa'tsak*, in Quichua, but, while Cayapa has a strict centenary system above 100, Quichua carries the hundreds only as far as 1000, which is *huaranga*, a term entirely unrelated to hundred.

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A SYSTEM OF MNEMONIC WRITING

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As has already been noted, the Cayapa have no written language and express nothing in writing of any kind. An interesting example of the power of adaptation, however, was given by one individual along this line. The incident, while it has no direct bearing on the general life and culture of the tribe as a whole, may perhaps be significant and of interest when the general subject of mnemonics and hieroglyphic writing is considered, for it shows how readily a single individual of a tribe may borrow a principle which is entirely foreign to the culture of his own people and, with this as a basis, may invent a new system which might give rise to an entirely new order of things if it were carried to its full possibilities. Furthermore, this system is of considerable interest from a phonetic point of view, since it shows that it is founded on strictly phonetic considerations and thus shows what may be termed the natural tendency of the mind of man to correlate and arrange at least some linguistic ideas along logical, phonetic lines.

On the arrival of the author in the Cayapa country he took up his residence with a prominent official of the tribe known, according to the present-day Spanish terminology, as "El Secretario del Gobernacion." When the author expressed a desire to learn the Cayapa language, his host manifested an equal desire to learn English. It was therefore mutually agreed that each should instruct the other. A beginning was made with the numeral system, the author being given the names of the Cayapa numerals. As the terms were pronounced,

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission.

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Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Reascos to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Reascos 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part

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of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Zapallo Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Cayapas, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large hilly land areas between the rivers are completely uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage

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or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If she feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking.

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly

made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working."

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatáma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

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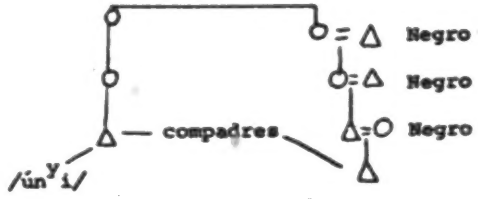
existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the 'ún^{y}i/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /ún^{y}i/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came upone day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /ún^{y}i/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, Maria Agrecaria. The /ún^{y}i/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. Since then, the /ún^{y}i/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a compadre so that, for example, the /únyi/'s daughter, Maria Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /ún^{y}i/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in Río Onzole area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the Río Camerones to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /ún^{y}i/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of compadres extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nailcutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek compadrazgo are usually related

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /únʸi/ began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. 775
The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kime/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it 774
has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger [754]
of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kime/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the 775
Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a 848
chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; 783
however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then 847
they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of 775
the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, 851
the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an 177
instance, the wife of Pablo Canalebo of Boranto, died [845]

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Cameroneg, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "negrazo . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . bruja . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands.

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Julio, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort.

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Puerto Naranjo in 1959.

[Christmas Fiesta at Punta Venado] 189

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /šaⁿlí/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negroes, who did the same thing, and they tossed the child up into the air. The /šaⁿlí/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child cried by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing on the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negroes suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some asiffe pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /šaⁿlí/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negroes kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to those men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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[Christmas fiesta at Punta Verde] 189

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /curíl/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negroes, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /curíl/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negroes suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /curíl/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negroes kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

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Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

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It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Perdomo of Encanto was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

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Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

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Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /únʸi/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /únʸi/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camerones declared the leading village. The Inspectór of Camerones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camerones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camerones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camerones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the /únʸi/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camerones contributed to the Inspectór. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /ũnʸi/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

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announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindaleñas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindaleñas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

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their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, so far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapiro of the Río Camerones, who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapiro has the reputation of preferring married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the wives with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapiro caught in flagrant delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapiro was caught

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girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to disputes and hard feelings.

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Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a marriage commission over the protests of her mother. The late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived with her mother and younger brother, near Playa Grande. One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians came to take the girl to Alipio Cimarrón who also lived near Playa Grande. First, the two Indians came into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe. They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and Anano Vallejo, both of Playa Grande. The four men came into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

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Romulo appeals to a White official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Inez Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nikola Ayovi and Aurelio Caruso, and an Indian named Dámian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Averticio Largo, a 'cousin' of Dámian. Averticio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Inez for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relations. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the Teniente Político, a national official of Borbón, came down the river from Telembí. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to Playa Grande where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty sucres each, but Dámian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the Teniente Político into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mens rea marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

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and threatened the Negroes. One of them answered that he was willing to fight, and at this, Perdomo backed down. The commission then left with the girl. They brought her to Manuel Largo who hid with her in the house of José Mina, one of the Negro members of the commission.

Two days later Perdomo managed to gather together ten kinsmen and friends, and they all left in two canoes, taking the girl's mother along. A Negro told them where the girl was hidden, and they headed straight for José Mina' house. They argued a great deal with the two Negroes, but the commissioners claimed that everything was all right; "after all the girl was not marrying a relative." The argument waxed hotter, and finally machetes began to swing. This all took place in front of the house, while from within the house the girl could be heard crying and pleading for rescue. As the fighting began, the girl's mother began crying, telling the men not to fight, or they would kill each other. This had no effect. The Negro woman shouted that if they kept on fighting, they would all be fined. At this, tempers cooled, the fighting ceased, and the Indians returned home without the girl.

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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wife did not like him, and after several years, she left, taking the children with her. Santiagueño was notified of the event by his brother while he was in the monte, working. He returned immediately and employed Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones to bring back his children. Joselino was paid one hundred sucres for his work. He located the woman near Sapallo Grande and removed the children. The woman cried bitterly and said that she wanted to return to her husband, but Santiagueño did not want her. He claimed that she had had lovers during the months that she had been gone. She denied this, but to no avail. Santiagueño did not mind losing his wife this way, because she was a nag "bravo y siempre charlando." She was later delivered to a man from the Punta Venado section. Santiagueño soon remarried, but the second wife died, and he then remarried a third time to the ex-wife of Antonio Blanco. Antonio had divorced his wife for being barren. "People said that it was not a nice thing to do, but no one demanded that he be punished."

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Clearly the attitudes toward divorce had modified considerably, especially since Barrett's recording of the following case:

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Viche where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate versions

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristóbal came up from Niño to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Borrero was said to have been the second wife of Cristóbal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Niño up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Colimes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the Río Mirasol section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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Juanita Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish."

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Orientel, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayuga law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayuga consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayuga legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta.

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The statement "... and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls

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events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely tongue-tied. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

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Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Muisne has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapuilo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule, groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the tagua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The tagua nut is only a minor item in the

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diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing material. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut them out of the unclaimed forest.

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Land is seldom held in one large block. It is usually scattered about among other holdings so that, quite often, choice properties are separated by distances involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two houses, each built as close as possible to their main holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time away from large sections of their property and, as a result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom, the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Sometimes usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop. It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft.

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Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Cameronas, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Mulane on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Rocanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he

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Punta Venado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Buru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Buru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Buru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Buru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Severico, called in Cristobal, the Negro inspector of the village of Camarones at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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the crop but that when the plants were dead, the land should revert to Sanchi. Meanwhile, Marianito complained to Perdomo that the land was really his. Perdomo asked why he had not worked the land before, and Cristobal, the Inspectór, ignored the claim. Sanchi paid Cristobal ten sucres for his services.

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The decision was acceptable to both claimants. It followed the reasoning, apparently, that although the land belonged to Sanchi, he was not working it at the time. There seems to have been a general feeling that the land was monte jivaro and never had been worked before. It did however, adjoin the acknowledged property of Sanchi. By disputing Perdomo's use of the land, he signified his intention of using it. Perdomo was at a disadvantage because he had no land adjoining the section under dispute. Cristobal balanced propinquity and intention on the one hand, with actual use on the other, in reading his decision. The decision definitely acknowledges the land as belonging to Sanchi, but Perdomo was permitted to profit from his labor. The dispute occurred several years ago, and in 1960 it was being said that Perdomo planned to use the land again.

hundred sucres, but did not. During Christmas at Punta Venado, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the Río Camerones and then they paid the money.

The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred sucres conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling

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and she returned to her house where she continued to cry "like one does at a funeral." The Cimarrón brothers remonstrated with Ciro, who remained silent, ashamed, because "three mouths were speaking against me." All left except Segundo Cimarrón. Ciro asked him who had made the accusation and was told that it was Segundo's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, the very one who had been constantly gossiping about Ciro. Segundo then demanded fifteen hundred sucres, saying that they were not family anymore. Ciro replied that he did not have the money, and more to the point, that the charges were not true.

When the Cimarróns' mother went home to weep "like one does at a funeral" it meant that someone was going to die, which made Ciro's brother, Santiagueño, very angry, so that, at a party, he spoke very harshly to the Cimarrón brothers. The proliferation of baseless rumors involving land transactions such as those described above, is a realization that the Cayapa's hold on the land is becoming increasingly more tenuous as the expanding banana market causes the land to increase in value. This point was made very clear by Joselino Caisero, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones,

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who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Cayapas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variatiojs on this basic theme.

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As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /ná.tala/, means 'sons together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Huru Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in Encanto. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the rampida, up the Río Camerones, on which were some rubber trees. Huru wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made

off with the latex. Huru claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo agreed to leave the untapped trees for Huru. But they are three brothers, and the /ún^{y}i/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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The rubber poacher keeps most of the profits. Espíritu Santo had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapiro tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Añapa and two Negroes, Estupinian and Manuel Caisero. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapiro. Huru Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiagueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapiro skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapiro. Huru's wife, who is Espíritu's sister, became very angry with Chapiro and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Encanto, Espíritu approached Chapiro and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapiro did not argue, and

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returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the /únʸi/ ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the /únʸi/, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

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Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/ʔáči/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Camerones, Indians wander about and visit casually the homes of many of the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there are no casual visits to friends--there are really no friends, with the possible exception of some of the pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. There is family and not-family and, one does not visit family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have no count but my decided impression is that prestation increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol. Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially generous on any level, showed an apparent increase with

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy: a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury: a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Encanto, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoerotician could very easily pass over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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